

**THE FIRST ANTIPHON OF BYZANTINE
CATHEDRAL RITE MATINS:
FROM POPULAR PSALMODY TO KALOPHONIA**

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In an important passage of his mystagogical treatise *On Divine Prayer* (*Περὶ τῆς θείας προσευχῆς*), Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17-29) – Byzantium's last and most prolific author of liturgical commentaries – reports that his provincial cathedral of Hagia Sophia was the last church on earth regularly celebrating the Liturgy of the Hours according to the ancient Constantinopolitan cathedral *Typikon of the Great Church*. According to Symeon, this rite – popularly known as the "Sung Office" (*asmatike akolouthia*) – was formerly celebrated by "all of the cathedral churches (καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι)¹ in the inhabited world, ... especially ... the greatest churches of Constantinople, Antioch, and Thessalonica."²

Modern scholars of liturgy have recognised that Symeon was describing the final stages of a lengthy process of competition and mutual influence between the liturgical families of Constantinople and Jerusalem, each of which fostered cathedral and monastic traditions.³ Originating in Late Antiquity, this process of interchange be-

¹ In Byzantine times, a "catholic church" was one of the few large churches within a city where the bishop would celebrate baptisms. See Alexander Kazhdan, with A.-M. Talbot, A. Cutler, T.E. Gregory and N. Ševcenko, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* vol. 2 (New York – Oxford, 1991), p. 1116.

² Symeon, *Περὶ τῆς θείας προσευχῆς*, *Patrologia Graeca* (PG) p. 155, col. 624 (my translation).

³ Oliver Strunk, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia", in *idem, Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977), pp. 113-4, 137-8. Concise surveys reflecting the current scholarly understanding of this process are Robert Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*, *American Essays in Liturgy* (Collegeville, 1992), 56-60; and *idem*, "A Tale of Two Cities: The Byzantine Holy Week Triduum as a Paradigm of Liturgical History", in J. Neil Alexander, ed., *Time and Community, NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy* (Washington, D.C., 1990), pp. 22-3.

came particularly intense after the Constantinopolitan monks of Studios adopted the Palestinian Divine Office of St. Sabas in 799, an event that inaugurated four hundred years of coexistence between the asmatic and Sabaitic rites in the imperial capital. This state of affairs was disrupted by the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61), after which the monastic rite was adopted as the ordinary Liturgy of the Hours at Hagia Sophia. While the monastic rite in its fourteenth-century Athonite recension went on to form the basis for all modern Orthodox worship, the fall of the Empire to the Turks brought about the complete disappearance of the cathedral rite, the memory of which has all but vanished from the consciousness of the Orthodox Church.

Until fairly recently, Symeon's liturgical commentaries were among the few accessible sources for the Byzantine cathedral rite of any period. Since the 1950s, however, scholars representing a number of academic disciplines – liturgists, historians, art historians and musicologists – have studied and in some cases published other documents relating both to the "Sung" Office's apogee in tenth-century Constantinople and, somewhat less prominently, to its twilight in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Thessalonica. When used in conjunction with other literary witnesses and, especially, archaeological data, these sources enable us to form a reasonably complete picture of medieval urban worship in the great ancient basilicas of Byzantium. In general, this image may be described as one of remarkable continuity with both the tenth-century sources of Constantinopolitan liturgy and the patterns of urban worship followed throughout the Mediterranean in Late Antiquity. This is not to say, however, that the "Sung" Office was completely static. In addition to instances of outright borrowing from the ascendant monastic rite, one may observe that a number of its components were subjected over the course of centuries to elaborations and interpolations reflecting contemporary musical developments.

The present study will show the impact of these developments on one element of the *asmatike akolouthia*, namely the invariable First Antiphon of cathedral rite matins. The extant musical settings of this antiphon, which consists of Psalms 62, 3 and 133, range from

ferial versions faithful to patterns of ancient urban popular psalmody to festal settings in the florid choral and solo idioms of Middle and Late Byzantine chant. In order to place this music in its historical context, however, it is necessary to preface our survey of the individual settings with a brief discussion of the antiphon's origins in the daily prayer of Late Antiquity.

From Late Antiquity to the Byzantine cathedral rite

One of the earliest detailed discussions of the celebration of the Christian Liturgy of the Hour in any detail is found in *The Apostolic Constitutions*, a church order from the vicinity of Antioch that has been dated to the late fourth century A.D. It instructs the clergy and laity to "...assemble each day morning and evening, singing psalms and praying in the Lord's houses, in the morning saying Ps. 62, and in the evening Ps. 140."⁴ As Robert Taft has shown, this passage and those that follow it in *The Apostolic Constitutions* are particularly important for the light they shed on the formation of what modern liturgiologists have called "cathedral worship."⁵ This somewhat confusing term has been used to designate the style of common prayer employed in Late Antiquity throughout the Mediterranean basin by urban communities gathered around the local bishop or, in parochial churches, his presbyters. Unlike the assemblies of the early monks of the Egyptian desert, in which psalms were mainly recited in course as a contemplative exercise without regard to the time of day, cathedral offices were fixed acts of praise and supplication appropriate to the hour. Urban services also fostered the participation of the entire assembly in their litanies and psalms through the medium of congregational refrains.⁶ In cathedral psalmody the texts of the responses could be drawn from the psalm or canticle itself, or they could be original compositions varying in

⁴ Quoted in Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, 1986), pp. 44-5.

⁵ Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, pp. 46-7 and 211-2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-5.

length from a few words to short hymn (*troparia*) of several complete sentences. Two other distinguishing features of cathedral worship noted by scholars in such Late Antique sources as *The Apostolic Constitutions* are the regulated cooperation of diverse ministries from bishop to doorkeeper and the prominent use of ceremonial, including light, incense and processions. Both of these, according to Taft, "were completely foreign to monastic usage".⁷

Although, as previously mentioned, cathedral offices were once celebrated in cities across the Mediterranean, those in the West faded away after the demise of the Western Roman Empire.⁸ In the East, on the other hand, the cathedral rite of Constantinople prospered and was regularly celebrated in the non-monastic churches of New Rome until the Latin conquest of 1204. Remarkably, the Byzantine Empire's second city of Thessalonica succeeded in maintaining the full Constantinopolitan "Sung Office" until its second and final fall to the Turks in 1430. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the extant sources for the *asmatike akolouthia* cover no less than seven centuries. The earliest document is the famous eighth-century Euchology MS Barberini Gr. 336, which transmits the prayers recited in the Rite of Hagia Sophia.⁹ All the remaining early sources, none of which contains musical notation, post-date the strife of Iconoclasm (726-843). These include:

- 1) Collections of rubrics, namely *Typika*, *Diataxeis*, and books of imperial ceremony;
- 2) Service books: *Antiphonaria* (cathedral Psalters), lectionaries, and hymnbooks (e.g. the eleventh-century *Kontakaria* containing the complete hymns of Romanos the Melode);
- 3) The *Asmatikon* and *Psaltikon*, two notated musical collections containing, respectively, the rite's florid chants for choirs and soloists.¹⁰

⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁸ The history of Western cathedral worship is surveyed in *ibid.*, pp. 141-90.

⁹ Described in Anselm Strittmatter, "The 'Barberini S. Marci' of Jacques Goar", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 47 (1933), pp. 329-67.

The volumes among these sources bearing musical notation all come from the final centuries of the cathedral rite. Although Slavonic adaptations of the Asmatikon bearing the enigmatic non-diastematic 'Kondakarion' notation have survived from the period of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, the extant Greek copies of the Asmatikon and the Psaltikon date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The only two manuscripts containing the music for the Byzantine cathedral rite's ferial cycles of antiphonal psalmody are both products of its Thessalonian twilight that are presently located in the National Library of Greece. These are the *Antiphonaria* MS Athens 2061, dated variously by scholars within the period 1408–1425, and the somewhat earlier MS Athens 2062, which was written between 1355 and 1385.¹¹

The documents of the *asmatike akolouthia*, as I suggested above, generally maintain patterns of prayer and psalmody first recorded in such Late Antique documents as *The Apostolic Constitutions* and the Spanish nun Egeria's description of her pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹² Faithfulness to distinctly Constantinopolitan traditions of urban worship may be seen in the "Sung" rite's many processions, the origins of which may be traced back to the archiepiscopacy of St. John Chrysostom (398–404). In response to Arian provocations, Chrysostom initiated nocturnal processions of the Orthodox featuring popular psalmody.¹³ Byzantine liturgy subsequently assumed a strongly stational character even when congregations never left

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of these sources with full bibliography, see the present author's doctoral thesis "Sunday Matins in the Byzantine Cathedral Rite: Music and Liturgy", Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia (1996), pp. 48–63. A revised version of this thesis will soon be published by Harwood Academic Publishing.

¹¹ On the different dates proposed by scholars for these MSS, see "Sunday Matins", pp. 211–6.

¹² In two earlier studies I have examined the continuities and discontinuities with Late Antique practice manifested by two asmatic offices in their entirety. In addition to "Sunday Matins", see "Festal Cathedral Vespers in Late Byzantium", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 63 (1977), pp. 421–59.

¹³ On the stational liturgy of Constantinople, see John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228 (Rome, 1987), pp. 167–226.

their churches, a development facilitated by the creation of Justinian's Hagia Sophia and other buildings designed to accommodate a great deal of movement by the clergy and laity.¹⁴ The way processions were integrated into an average service of the Great Church may be seen from Table 1, which shows how the "Sung" office of Sunday matins was divided into three distinct sections marking the gradual progression of the clergy from the narthex to the apse. Matins began outside the closed central doors of the nave with a vigil consisting mainly of prayers from the Euchology and antiphonal renditions of psalms with short refrains. After the clergy opened the main body of the church in a ceremonial entrance, the congregation entered the nave and galleries. An office of praise featuring such classic elements of urban morning worship as Psalms 148-50 and the Great Doxology (the longer Orthodox version of the *Gloria in excelsis*) was then celebrated at the ambo, a monumental platform slightly offset toward the East from the centre of the church. Like the chants sung previously in the narthex, Psalm 50 and the three psalms of Lauds were chanted antiphonally with short refrains. The accession of the higher clergy into the sanctuary marked the third and final portion of the service, which concluded with prayers and benedictions delivered by the celebrant from his chair in the apse. Weekday matins were nearly identical in form, differing only in the number of psalms and canticles appointed for performance before the singers' arrival at the ambo (up to eight), and in their lack of a prokeimenon or gospel lection.

The First Antiphon of asmatic matins

Settings for Ordinary Days

The conservative nature of the "Sung Office" becomes even more evident when one examines the invariable First Antiphon of asmatic matins. In most circumstances, its three psalms appropriate to the hour (3, 62, and 133) and refrain ("Glory to You, O God")

¹⁴ See the classic study of Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park - London, 1971).

were sung in a manner common to all the fixed and variable introductory psalmody of the Constantinopolitan offices:

Deacon: Litany of Peace through the petition
'Αντιλαβου...τῇ σῇ χάριτι.

Domestikos: Καὶ ὑπνωσα. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός.

Deacon: Conclusion of the Litany

Priest: Ecphonesis of the First Morning Prayer

Domestikos: 'Αμήν. 'Εγω ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνωσα. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός.

Choir 1: V. 'Εγω ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνωσα.
R. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός.
The choirs chant all three psalms in alternation to the same melody, concluding with a Gloria Patri.

Domestikos: Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός· Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός·
Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός.

Outwardly complex, this scheme conceals an antiphonal structure incorporating the ancient urban multiplicity of liturgical roles with prescribed parts for a celebrant, a deacon, soloists, choirs and presumably the laity. The complementary nature of the contribution made by each participant in the ferial psalmody of the Great Church may be discerned by comparing the textual outline of the First Antiphon given above with a musical setting for the matins of an ordinary Sunday from Athens 2061 (Example 1). Toward the end of the deacon's Synapte of Peace, a soloist announces the coming antiphon with a fragment of Psalm 3:6a ("And I slept") and the refrain "Glory to You, O God" (Example 1a.). This moderately florid interjection concludes with a cadential figure signaling the deacon to resume the litany. After the celebrant's ecphonesis, the soloist responds "Amen" and chants the entire text of Psalm 3:6a (Example 1b), adding a short new musical passage for the portion of the verse previously omitted ("I fell asleep"). At the conclusion of the soloist's refrain, the cadential figure of Example 1a (last syllable) is replaced by a transition into a model choral setting of the same text, the for-

mulaic music of which is then employed by the chorus for the remaining verses of the antiphon. In addition to providing an efficient vehicle for the recitation of the antiphon's remaining verses (the *stichologia*), the relative simplicity of the second setting's reciting tone is indicative of a hierarchy of musical idioms reflecting the different capabilities of soloists and choirs. The antiphon concludes with a solo *perisse* (Example 1c) that presents a modified recapitulation of the *domestikos*'s initial melody, including its final cadence.

Unfortunately, none of the settings for the First Antiphon of Sunday matins in the two Late Byzantine Antiphonaria provide the complete music for the refrain "Glory to You, O God." The setting of the same text for the matins of Monday in Athens 2062, however, offers two stylistic approaches (Example 2). The first and more elaborate option, for which a suitable psalm-tone is provided (Example 2b), is to repeat the soloist's refrain after each choral verse (Example 2a). A second choral psalm-tone, labeled "ἔτερον κοινότερον" ("a more common alternative"),¹⁵ leads into a much simpler refrain (Example 2c).¹⁶ While neither refrain is particularly difficult to sing or beyond the capability of a congregation to repeat after several hearings, the second would appear to be a more fitting congregational response for normal occasions, raising the possibility that the first is a festal variant. These considerations, together with the fact that the cadence of the choral psalm-tone in Example 1 does not prepare the entry of the soloist's refrain, lead one to suspect that the missing Sunday refrain for the first antiphon was relatively short and perhaps considered too familiar to be notated.¹⁷

¹⁵ A rubric attached to the corresponding Monday morning setting in Athens 2061's cycle for the first week (f. 2v) impartially offers the same stylistic choice "Ἄπό χοροῦ, φάλλε οἵοι βούλει εἴτε τὸ ἄνω εἴτε τὸ κάτω" ("For the choir, sing whichever you wish, either the setting above or the one below").

¹⁶ The scribe's observation regarding the customary asmatic practice is substantiated by the psalmodic ordinaries of Antiphonaria, in which the vast majority of antiphons employ similar unadorned psalm-tones and refrains. See, for example, the psalm-tones and refrains transcribed in Strunk, "The Byzantine Office", pp. 119, 122, 124, 126, 133.

¹⁷ Frequently sung chants rarely appear in Byzantine manuscripts. An extreme example of this phenomenon is the early Christian vesper hymn *Phos hilaron*. Even though Basil referred to this hymn as ancient in the fourth century, the earliest

Festal Settings of the Asma and Asmatikon

An alternate repertory of highly elaborate chants for the First Antiphon of cathedral matins, previously misidentified by Bartolomeo di Salvo as music for the *Hexapsalmos* of Sabaïtic matins, is transmitted in three copies of the *Asma*, a thirteenth-century collection of beautified "kalophonic" chants contained in South-Italian manuscripts.¹⁸ In addition, a similar but unfortunately incomplete version of the same antiphon is appended to the *Asmatikon* MS Kastoria 8 from mainland Greece.¹⁹ In both cases, the antiphon is presented as a collection of individual psalm verses accompanied by the usual asmatic refrain "Glory to You, O God."²⁰ The verses occasionally quote syllabic psalm-tones at their openings, but are otherwise through-composed virtuoso pieces employing typical kalophonic techniques of embellishment in various combinations, including textual repetition, highly melismatic passages, and interludes featuring nonsense syllables.²¹ Although their exact origins and the rules for their liturgical use are presently unknown, one might conclude on stylistic grounds that these settings of the first antiphon of asmatic matins are cathedral rite precursors to the florid psalmody that flooded the fourteenth-century monastic rite after the musical reforms of St. John Koukouzeles (ca. 1280-ca. 1341/75).²²

known notated setting is from the seventeenth century. Cf. Kenneth Levy, "Byzantine rite, music of the", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* vol. 3, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), pp. 555, 557; Edward V. Williams, "John Koukouzeles' Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century", Ph.D. diss., Yale University, pp. 403-7.

¹⁸ Bartolomeo di Salvo, "Gli Asmata nella music bizantina", *Bulletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 13 (1959), pp. 45-50, 127-45; 14 (1960), pp. 145-78.

¹⁹ For a description of this unusual MS, see Linos Polites, "Δύο χειρόγραφα ἀπό τὴν Καστοριά", *Ἐλληνικά* 20 (1967), pp. 29-41.

²⁰ Di Salvo's comparative index to the repertory of the *Asma* ("Gli Asmata", pp. 128-31) lists the individual verses contained in the three manuscripts, together with their modes.

²¹ Levy provides a short summary of the rise of the kalophonic style in "Byzantine rite, music of the", pp. 559-60. On the interpolation of meaningless syllables, see Dimitri Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Thessalonica, 1974), pp. 262-86.

The First Antiphon appears in the Asma at the head of the entire kalophonic collection and is divided into two major sections. After a heading announcing the beginning of the Asma,²³ the first group of verses in each manuscript commences with an elaborate version of the soloist's introductory interjection "Καὶ ὑπνωσα. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός" (Example 3). This is followed in the three South-Italian manuscripts by six additional verses, beginning with Psalm 3: 2. Comparison of the repertoires of Messina gr. 161 and Grottaferrata Γ.γ. VII reveals that not only are each of the verses highly individual in their melodic content, but also that the two manuscripts often transmit different musical settings of the same text,²⁴ of which the Messina versions are generally the more elaborate.

The second group of verses in the Asma are taken from the remaining two psalms of the morning antiphon. Generally less elaborate than their predecessors, they are all set in mode II, characteristics which are reflected in the headings of Messina gr. 161 ("Beginning of the Little Verses") and Grottaferrata Γ.γ. VII ("Beginning of Mode II").²⁵ The first composition in the series is Ps. 62:2, followed by differing numbers of additional verses in each source. Messina gr. 161, however, is the only manuscript to include texts from Psalm 133, inserting two settings before the final two half-verses of Psalm 62.²⁶ Both of these latter compositions begin in the middle of their

²³ See, for example, the settings quoted in Edward V. Williams, "The Kalophonic Tradition and Chants for the Polyeleos Psalm 134", *Studies in Eastern Chant* 4, ed. Milos Velimirovic (Crestwood, N.Y., 1979), pp. 235-41. The ethos and liturgical function of Koukouzeles' kalophonic works is addressed in the present author's study "Hesychasm and Psalmody", in A. Bryer - M. Cunningham, eds., *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 4 (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 155-68.

²⁴ The title is "Ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἄσματος" ("Beginning of the Asma") in Mess. gr. 161 and Grott. Γ. γ. VII, and "Σὺν Θεῷ τὸ ἄσμα" ("With God, the Asma") in Grott. Γ.γ. VI (Di Salvo, "Gli Asmata", pp. 128-9).

²⁵ This is also evident from the variations in modal designations in Di Salvo's index (*ibid.*).

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶ The curious placement of Ps. 133 out of sequence in Mess. gr. 161 and its absence in the other two settings of the Asma may be explained by the fact that the South Italian manuscripts were copied for use in a monastic context. Since Ps. 133

respective half-verse (Ps. 133:1a and 1b) with the same transition from a syllabic psalm tone that was probably employed for the missing opening portions of their texts. After this point, they diverge rapidly, with the setting of verse 1a continuing in a mildly florid manner not unlike the solo intonations of the Antiphonarion (Example 4), while verse 1b commences with a short teretism that prefaces a series of repetitions of the psalm text (Example 5). Following the last of the psalm verses, the musical settings of the Asma conclude in all of the manuscripts with extremely melismatic versions of the first antiphon's solo coda "Δόξα σοι, ο Θεός."

The music for the First Antiphon of Byzantine cathedral matins in Kastoria 8 includes five verses from Psalm 3 and eight verses from Psalm 62.²⁷ These are set in Mode II and employ a relatively modest melodic idiom akin to that of the "Little Verses" of the South Italian manuscripts. The character of these melodies may be seen from the first verse of Kastoria 8 (Example 6), which proves to be a simplified version of the corresponding setting in Grottaferrata Γ.γ. VII. After the beginning of Psalm 62, the chants become even more compact (Example 7): Due to the absence of the manuscript's final folios, the first antiphon abruptly concludes in Kastoria 8 in the middle of Ps. 62:8. As a result, it cannot be determined if verses from Psalm 133 were originally included in the manuscript.

Late Byzantine Festal Settings

Late Byzantine rubrics and music of Thessalonian provenance demonstrate that florid and highly stylised settings of the First Antiphon of asmatic matins continued to be sung until the eve of the Ottoman conquest. In particular, an unpublished Typikon (MS Athens 2047) written by Archbishop Symeon for his cathedral of Hagia Sophia states that the three introductory psalms of matins were sung in Mode Plagal IV with the addition of Trinitarian tropes ("τριαδικά,") on feasts when matins commenced at the ambo, as

has no place at matins in the Palestinian monastic rite, its suppression may be evidence of adaptation for use during the Sabaitic *Hexapsalmos*.

²⁷ On folios 80v-83v, Kastoria 8 contains the following verses: Ps. 3:6a, 4-7; and Ps. 62: 2, 3a, 4b, 5b, 6b, 7b, 8b.

well as on the two Sundays before Christmas.²⁸ Music corresponding to these rubrics may be found in two places: in two Late Byzantine manuscripts transmitting the special "Sung" office of matins for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on 14 September, a day celebrated in Thessalonica as the patronal feast of Symeon's cathedral;²⁹ and among the propers of the Antiphonarion Athens 2061 for the two Sundays before Christmas. Considerably more elaborate than either of the versions transmitted in the Sunday ordinarys of the same manuscript, the two Advent settings from Athens 2061 are collections of verses in which one may note three strata of material: 1) semi-florid choral reciting-tones and refrains similar in style to the solo intonations found in the ferial psalms of the Antiphonaria; 2) anonymous verses in the melismatic idiom of the Middle Byzantine repertoires of the Asma and Asmatikon; and 3) troped verses by Koukouzeles and other Late Byzantine composers. A brief survey of the fourteen items transmitted in Athens 2061 for the first of the two choirs which served Symeon's cathedral on alternate weeks will serve to illustrate the application of these styles (Table 2).³⁰

The festal antiphon commences in the archaic florid style of the Asmatikon with a double intonation in which the fragment "Αγαλλιάσομαι. Δόξα σοι, ο Θεος" (Psalm 62:8b) and a stock cadence are appended to the antiphon's usual opening phrase "Καὶ ὑπνωσα. Δόξα σοι, ο Θεος." After the standard formula of introduction for psalms in Mode IV Plagal, the remainder of the intonation after the

²⁸ MS Athens 2047, *Ekthesis*, f. 6v-7v; PG 155, col. 637. The custom of beginning matins in the centre of the church on feast days, possibly instituted to accommodate a greater number of the faithful or because people would have kept vigil in the building throughout the preceding night, is recorded in Constantinopolitan Typika of the ninth and tenth centuries. See Miguel Arranz, "L'office de l'Asmatikos Orthros [«matines chantées»] dans l'ancien Euchologe byzantin", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47 (1981), pp. 149-50 and 154-5. The most comprehensive description of Symeon's Typikon is found in Ioannes Phontoules, *Tὸ λειτουργικὸν ἔργον Συμεὼν τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessalonica, 1966), pp. 37-47, 115-58.

²⁹ MSS Koutloumousiou 457, f. 332v; and Athens 2062, f. 56r-58r.

³⁰ The weekly rotation of choirs in Byzantine cathedrals is discussed in Neil K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavic Painting*, *Byzantine Neerlandica* 9 (Leiden, 1986), p. 15 (Constantinople); and Lingas, "Sunday Matins", pp. 227-8 (Thessalonica).

ecphonesis restates only the first half of the preceding solo. The following choral verse and refrain set the same text in a somewhat less melismatic idiom, the music of which is applied verbatim to the incipit supplied in the manuscript for the succeeding verse (Ps. 3:6b). In a manner consistent with the patterns for compound intonations that I have noted elsewhere among the settings of Psalm 118 for ordinary Sundays,³¹ the recapitulation of the opening intonation's second half is reserved for the full setting of Ps. 62:8 and the *perisse*. Between these two statements of the florid music from the antiphon's opening, Ps. 62:9 brings a temporary return to the choral reciting tone and refrain, a fact noted in the manuscript by the heading "τὸ κείμενον" ("the [musical] subject").

These anonymous chants for the First Antiphon provide a traditional if somewhat ornate asmatic framework for the six eponymous verses with tropes. Upon closer examination the first of the three works attributed to Koukouzeles, a setting of Ps. 3:4 attached to the incipit "Δόξα σοι, Πάτερ," is revealed to be identical to one of his five known contributions to the important and widely distributed Late Byzantine repertory of newly composed chants for Psalm 103, the prooematic psalm of Neo-Sabaitic Great Vespers.³² In their monastic guise, these works – known as *Anoixantaria* after the incipit of Ps. 103:28b ("Ανοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα") – consist of a verse melody, which may migrate from one verse to another of Psalm 103 in different *Akolouthia* manuscripts, and a trope, the text of which remains stable.³³ Comparison of the other two Koukouzeles compositions in Athens 2061 with the melodies for the Neo-Sabaitic psalm transcribed by Velimirovic confirms this remarkable musical relationship across rites. The cathedral setting of Ps. 62:4 is revealed as Koukouzeles' fourth melody for Great Vespers, while the first week's music for Ps. 3:8, which also appears attached to Ps. 62:9 in

³¹ "Sunday Matins", pp. 235-49.

³² The musical repertoires in *Akolouthiai* manuscripts for Psalm 103 are thoroughly discussed in Milos Velimirovic, "The Prooematic Psalm of Byzantine Vespers" chap. in L. Berman, ed., *Words and Music, the Scholar's View: A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pp. 317-37; and Williams, "John Koukouzeles' Reform", pp. 144-209.

³³ Velimirovic, "The Prooematic Psalm", pp. 324-5.

the same manuscript's festal antiphon for the choir of the second week,³⁴ is the composer's fifth *anoixantarion*.³⁵ Furthermore, with the aid of the list of trope texts for the prooemaic psalm included by Williams in his unpublished doctoral thesis, the works attributed in Athens 2061 to composers Xenos Korones and Georgios Kontopetres may be identified with two of their previously known works for Psalm 103.³⁶

Conclusion

The preceding short survey of music for the First Antiphon of Byzantine cathedral rite matins has revealed three variations upon a form of psalmody originally designed to foster congregational participation in the urban basilicas of Late Antiquity:

- 1) An ordinary form adhering closely to ancient practice in the simplicity of its choral writing and its division of labour between singers of different ability and clerical rank;
- 2) A highly ornate Middle Byzantine form set in the melodic style of the Asmatikon; and
- 3) A Late Byzantine form reserved for major solemnities incorporating both verses in the style of the Asmatikon and troped verses by eponymous composers.

The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century settings with Trinitarian tropes raise intriguing questions about the relationship between the cathedral and monastic traditions of in Late Byzantium, particularly with regard to the appearance of highly individual and often quite virtuosic works by named composers. It remains to be determined, for example, whether the *Triadika* were first created to be sung with Psalm 103 at a monastic vigil, or with the First Antiphon of cathedral matins. With regard to Koukouzeles, one may ask if it is possible to take the existence of his works for the "Sung Office" as evidence that he worked in a cathedral environment either before or

³⁴ Athens 2061, f. 104r.

³⁵ Velimirovic, "The Prooemaic Psalm", pp. 336-7.

³⁶ Williams, "John Koukouzeles' Reform", pp. 423-5.

after his removal to the Monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos.³⁷ At all events, the case of the First Antiphon of asmatic matins serves to remind us once again that the development of music and liturgy in Byzantium was far more complex than realised by those unfamiliar with the long struggle between cathedral and monastic rites.

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³⁷ Many aspects of Koukouzeles' career are shrouded in uncertainty, due in part to the late date and problematic nature of his vita. One scholar who has advocated the notion that Koukouzeles spent most of his productive life in an urban environment (albeit in the twelfth century!) is Simon Karas, *Ιωάννης Μαΐστρος ο Κουκουζέλης και η έποχή του* (Athens, 1992), pp. 9-12, 34-41, and 57-8.

Table 1. Sunday matins
according to the rite of the Great Church^a

1. PSALMODIC VIGIL IN THE NARTHEX

Opening Blessing
(Hypakoe)^b
 Synapte of Peace
 First Morning Prayer
First Antiphon (Ps. 3, 62, 133)
 Small Synapte
 Morning Prayer (2-7?)
Amomos, Antiphon 1 (Ps. 118: 1-72)
 Small Synapte
 Morning Prayer (2-7?)
Amomos, Antiphon 2 (Ps. 118: 73-131)
 Small synapte
 Eighth (?) Morning Prayer
Amomos, Antiphon 3 (Ps. 118: 132-76)
Entry into the nave.

2. MORNING PSALMODY AT THE AMBO

Benedicite: Dan. 3:57-88
 Small Synapte
 Prayer of the 50th Psalm
Psalm 50 and Pentekostaria
 Small Synapte
 Prayer of Lauds
 Lauds (Ps. 148, 149, 150)
Great Doxology (Gloria in excelsis)
 Trisagion
Entry into the sanctuary.^c

3. PRAYERS AND SUPPLICATIONS IN THE SANCTUARY

[Resurrectional Hymn]
Fixed Sunday Prokeimenon (Ps. 9:33)
 [Prayer of the Gospel]
 [Resurrectional Gospel]
 Litany and Prayer of the Catechumens
 Litanies of the Faithful and two prayers
 Synapte of Supplication
 Prayer of Dismissal
Prayer of Inclination and Final Blessing
Chanting and reading until the beginning of the Divine Liturgy

^a After Arranz, "L'office de l'*Asmatikos Orthros* («matines chantées») de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 44 (1978), pp. 126–32; idem, "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 (1971), pp. 409–10; and Juan Mateos, ed., *Le Typicon de la Grande Église, Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, X^e siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes vol. I*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 165 (Rome, 1962), pp. xxiii–iv. Texts sung by the cantors and readers are given in bold print. Brackets indicate items that belong to the Order of the Resurrectional Gospel.

^b Since the *Typicon de la Grande Église* records only the use of festal hypakoi at this point in the service, it is possible that these hymns may not have been performed on ordinary Sundays in the Byzantine cathedral rite.

^c Moved to the conclusion of Lauds in the fourteenth-century sources.

Table 2.
 Outline of the festal setting of the invariable
 first antiphon for the choir of the first week
 (MS Athens 2061, f. 59v-61v)

VERSE	REFRAIN OR TROPE	COMPOSER (AND MELODY)
<i>Double Intonation:</i> Kai ūπινωσα (Ps. 3:6a) and Ἀγαλλιάσομαι (Ps. 62:8b)	Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός.	Anonymous (Style of the Asma)
<i>Intonation after the Ecphonesis:</i> Ps. 3:6a	Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός.	Anonymous (Style of the Asma)
<i>First Choral Verse:</i> Ps. 3:6a	Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός.	Anonymous (Reciting tone)
Ps. 3:6b / <i>First Choral Verse</i>)	Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός.	Anonymous (Reciting tone)
Ps. 3:4	Δόξα σοι Πάτερ...	Koukouzeles (= Williams #1)
Ps. 3:6	Λέγε. Δόξα σοι "Αγιε..."	Kontopetres (= Williams #1)
Ps. 3:8	[Δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός.]	Koukouzeles (= Williams #5)
Ps. 62:4	Δόξα [σοι τριάς ἄναρχε, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός.]	Koukouzeles (= Williams #4)
Ps. 62:6	Λέγε. Δόξα σοι Πάτερ "Αγιε, δόξα σοι..."	X. Korones (= Williams #2)
Ps. 62:8	Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός.	Anonymous (= Part 2 of the opening intonation in the style of the Asma)
Ps. 62:9 ("τὸ κείμενον")	Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός.	Anonymous (Reciting tone)
Ps. 62:12	Λέγε. Δόξα σοι "Αγιε..."	X. Korones (= Williams #7)
Ps. 133:1	Δόξα σοι [ό Θεός?]	Anonymous
<i>Perisse</i>	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός.	Anonymous (= Part 2 of the opening intonation in the style of the Asma)

**Example 1. The First Antiphon of Sunday Matins
(MS Athens 2061, Week 1)**

a. Solo Intonation

b. After the Ecphonesis

c. Perisse

Δέ-ξα σα, ο Θε- οί, δέ-ξα σα, δέ- ξα σα, δ-

Θε- ο-, Θε- οί.

**Example 2. The First Antiphon of Monday Matins
(MS Athens 2062)**

53r. *καὶ τὸν δεκάτοντα*

λα - μί. Ἐ - γὼ . ε - κα - μή - θη καὶ ὅ - πνω - σα . Δο - βα - σα , ὁ Θε - ω - ε - ος .

b. Choral Psalm-Tone.

απόχρονος

Ἐ - γὼ ε - κα - μή - θη καὶ ὅ - πνω - σα . Δο - βα - σα

c. Alternate Choral Psalm-Tone.

έπερν κανόνες

Ἐ - γὼ ε - κα - μή - θη καὶ ὅ - πνω - σα . Δο - βα - σα , ὁ Θε - ω - ε - ος .

Example 3. Ps. 3:6a (MS Grottaferrata Γ. γ. VII)

63r. *Ὕμνος Γ'*

καὶ ὅ - πνω - σα . Δο - βα - σα , ἀ - ρο - ω - ος Θε - ω - ε - ος τοσ .

Example 4. Ps. 133:1a (MS Messina gr. 161)

Example 5. Ps. 133:1b (MS Messina gr. 161)

Example 6. Ps. 3:6a (MS Kastoria 8)

F MAJOR
Kai - un - sun - sa.
Da - sa - sa - sa.
O - xo - xo - o - the - ou - e - me - os.

Example 7. Ps. 62:4b (MS Kastoria 8)

f 83r

Ta xei - λη μεν λε γε - τε . ε - ται νι - ον . ού

σε . Δάρα σε ο

(ο) - θε - ος.